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A LETTER

TO THE RIGHT HON.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL,

ON

THE PRESENT STATE

OF

THE CHURCH IN CANADA.

BY JOHN

LORD BISHOP OF TORONTO.

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A LETTER,

&c.

CANADA, 20 *Feb.* 1851.

MY LORD,

As your Lordship appears determined to guard the United Church of England and Ireland more effectually from Romish aggression, it is to be hoped that whatever measures you propose to Parliament for this purpose may be conceived in a truly catholic spirit, and extended to Canada. Not that we desire pains and penalties in this province to be enacted against any of our fellow-subjects, on account of their religious belief,—we merely claim equality and freedom from oppression; we claim that our just rights and privileges may be henceforth secured and respected, and that we may no longer be compelled, by unwise legislation and unjust preferences, to remain, as at present, in a condition of inferiority to other religious denominations.

Our position has for some time been that of a suffering and prostrate branch of the National Church; and how we have fallen into a state so extraordinary and humbling in a British Colony, will be best shown from a brief history

of what has been going on since the conquest of the country.

When the French possessions in North America were ceded to England at the peace of 1763, the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was granted to the inhabitants of Lower Canada. In 1774, the British Parliament not only confirmed this grant, but authorized the payment of tithes to the Romish Clergy by those who professed their religion, reserving the payment of tithes from Protestants to be made to the Receiver General towards the support of a Protestant Clergy.

At the close of the war in 1783, which gave independence to the United States, till then Colonies of the British Crown, great numbers of the inhabitants, anxious to preserve their allegiance, and, in as far as they were able, the unity of the empire, sought refuge in the western part of Canada, beyond the settlements made before the conquest, under the kings of France.

These loyalists, who had for seven years perilled their lives and fortunes in defence of the throne, the law, and religion of England, had irresistible claims, when driven from their homes into a strange land (yet a vast forest), to the immediate protection of Government, and to enjoy the same benefits which they had abandoned from their laudable attachment to the parent State.

These claims were so felt by the King and Parliament, and therefore an Act was passed in 1791, dividing Canada into two provinces; the one, comprehending all the French settlements, to be called Lower Canada, the other, embracing the remainder of the country, still a wilderness, to be called Upper Canada, and in which the loyalists were to find an asylum.

The object of the Act was to suit the two nations, differing as they did in language, worship, and manners, and to give to each the power of legislating for themselves in all matters not affecting religion and commerce — more

especially, to confer upon the loyalists such a constitution as should be as near a transcript as practicable of that of England, that they might have no reason to regret, in as far as religion, law, and liberty were concerned, the great sacrifices which they had made.

By this Act one-seventh of the waste lands of both provinces were set apart, in lieu of tithes, for the support of a Protestant Clergy, leaving the Roman Catholic Clergy within the French settlements which had already been divided into parishes, their tithes, glebes, and parsonages, but leaving the religious houses, convents, monasteries, &c. with such privileges, lands, and endowments, as they had acquired while the subjects of France, in abeyance.

Thus, Upper Canada was at first settled entirely by refugee loyalists, whose rights as British subjects to all the privileges of Englishmen were cordially acknowledged and guaranteed by the Imperial Government. They were at first few in numbers, and for many years increased slowly, for the wars in Europe prevented emigration from the mother country, and the character of the province as to climate and soil being entirely unknown, was represented to be too cold and barren to encourage settlement.

The noble stand which the province made against the United States in the war of 1812, in which the attachment of its inhabitants to the British empire was a second time signally displayed, brought the country into deserved notice, and gradually removed the great ignorance which had to this time prevailed as to its healthy climate, fertility of soil, and natural advantages.

After the general peace of 1815, emigrants began to arrive from the three kingdoms, and were encouraged by the Government with free grants of land. Portions of the soil were also bestowed on the officers and men of the army and navy, to induce them to settle in the Colony; and thus a considerable addition was made to the population.

Yet, so late as 1824, the inhabitants scarcely numbered

150,000, and being scattered over a great region, nearly 600 miles long, little or no benefit had been derived from the reserve of one-seventh of the land for the support of a Protestant Clergy.

Had the province been systematically settled, township by township, taking care to fill up one before another was opened for location; and had parishes been formed and endowed, and churches and schools erected, with masters and Clergymen appointed, as the settlement proceeded, the reserves intended for the support of religion would have grown by degrees into a regular Establishment, equal to that of Lower Canada, and the intention of the Imperial Legislature would have been realized.

But instead of this, townships were simultaneously opened in all parts of the province. The settlers, thus separated, were unable to combine for the support of schools and churches; and as the reserve lots or portions offered no peculiar advantages, and could only be leased, while all who petitioned Government received lands gratis, they were in general left waste, insomuch that the revenue derived scarcely amounted to five hundred pounds per annum, after the lapse of thirty-five years. Yet this error, great as it was, might have been in some measure corrected, had the inclination which at first prompted the reservation continued to exist. But it was far otherwise, for no sooner did rival claimants appear for a share of these reserved lands, or enemies ask for their appropriation to other purposes, than Government gave them a ready countenance, and the services of those for whose benefit they had been set apart were conveniently forgotten.

First, the Established Church of Scotland claimed a share of these lands, or the proceeds, as a National Church within the empire; and in 1819, the Crown lawyers made the discovery that it might be gratified, under the 37th clause of the 31st of George the Third, chap. 31.

Next, the Select Committee of the House of Commons

in 1828, on the Civil Government of Canada, influenced by the spurious liberality of the times, extended this opinion of the Crown lawyers to any Protestant Clergy.

In the meantime, the policy of dividing the country into regular parishes, after forming forty-four, was abandoned, and measures taken to sell the whole of the reserved lands, in the hope of terminating all further rivalry and contention. And thus the endowment, which was intended to grow with the province, and to ensure the worship of God in all future time, according to the teaching of the United Church of England and Ireland, has been in a great measure sacrificed.

This destructive policy commenced with passing the Statute 7 & 8 George the Fourth, chap. 62, by which authority was given to sell one-fourth of the Clergy Reserves in each province, limiting such sale to one hundred thousand acres in any one year.

But neither did this law give peace and satisfaction to the different claimants, because unreasonable desires can never be satisfied or set at rest. On the contrary, the enemies of the Church, having succeeded so far, were encouraged to renewed agitation for the alienation of the remaining three-fourths. They went even so far as falsely to attribute the rebellion which broke out in 1837 in Lower and Upper Canada, of which they themselves were the authors, to the discontent occasioned by the Clergy Reserves.

The insurrection was, indeed, instantly suppressed by the military in Lower, and by the constant loyalty of the people in Upper Canada, now exerted for the third time in favour of the Crown, and without any assistance from the army. But the slanderous calumny was still continued by the insurgents, who were pardoned and allowed to return, and being connected in England with an apprehension of a fresh outbreak, induced the Imperial Parliament to adopt the fatal measure of uniting the two

provinces, and to pass the 3 & 4 Victoria, chap. 78, to provide for the sale of the Clergy Reserves, and the distribution of the proceeds thereof.

By its provisions the Church of England in Canada was deprived of seven-twelfths of her property, yet her members in the Colony, tired with contention, and more than indifference from government, received it, unjust as it was, with satisfaction, rather than complaint, as the final settlement of a troublesome question.

This last measure was deemed a compromise, and was agreed to by the late Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops then in London on the one side, and your Lordship acting for the Government on the other.

It was thought to be the harbinger of peace, and had it been honourably carried out, by placing a just value on the remaining five-twelfths, without hurrying the sales, and wasting the proceeds by incredible expenses, something considerable might have been still preserved towards a partial endowment of the National Church in the Province of Canada.

But, instead of executing the law with scrupulous exactness, incompetent persons, and in many cases notorious enemies of the Church, were appointed to value and dispose of the lands, so that it may be safely averred that scarcely one-fourth of their true value is likely to be realized.

Indeed, the course taken by the Provincial Government in this matter was so blameable, that complaints by petition were made to the Legislature, and the Report of a Select Committee, dated the 19th of February, 1845, established their truth, but no steps were taken to remove them.

From the passing the 3 & 4 Victoria, chap. 78, in 1840, to the close of the year 1849, no movement against the arrangement which it made was manifested from any quarter, nor up to the last session of the Provincial Parliament was there on that account any agitation in the

province; and we began to believe that the Clergy Reserves question, by which the country had been more or less disturbed for more than thirty years, was set at rest for ever.

From this pleasing dream we were suddenly awakened, by a series of resolutions, which were introduced and carried through the Legislative Assembly by members of the Executive Government, and an Address to the Queen founded thereon, praying that the miserable portion of property still left for the support of a Protestant Clergy, might be alienated from that holy object, and applied to educational and other secular purposes.

Before the union of Upper and Lower Canada, such an unjust proceeding could not have taken place; for, while separate, the Church of England prevailed in Upper Canada, and had frequently a commanding weight in the Legislature, and at all times an influence sufficient to protect her from injustice. But since their union under one Legislature, each sending an equal number of members, matters are sadly altered.

It is found, as was anticipated, that the members returned by Dissenters uniformly join the French Roman Catholics, and thus throw the members of the Church of England into a hopeless minority in all questions in which the National Church is interested.

The Church of England has not only been prostrated by the union under that of Rome, and the whole of her property made dependent on Roman Catholic votes, but she has been placed below Protestant Dissenters, and privileges wrested from her which have been conferred upon them.

The result of such proceedings will be seen in the present state of the two Churches in this Colony, to which I crave your Lordship's attention.

The Roman Catholic Church in Canada consists of one Archbishop and six Bishops, who have, it is said, about five hundred and fifty Clergy under their charge. The

strength of this Church lies in the eastern part of the Province, and comprises all the French settlements and seignories, and has formed from the beginning a regular Establishment, having been divided into parishes, a process which is still continued as the country is opened. Each parish has had from its first institution an incumbent, supported by tithes, and various dues, with a parsonage, glebe, and other endowments, in much the same way as the Clergy of the Established Church in England and Ireland. Hence, the Romish Church has increased in efficiency, wealth, and importance, with the growth of the Colony.

The average value of the livings it is not easy to ascertain with minute exactness; but, from the best information that can be obtained, it may be taken at 250*l.* per annum; and assuming the Parochial Clergy at 400, exclusive of those employed in colleges, monasteries, and other religious houses, we have for the revenue of the Roman Catholic Church in Lower Canada, 100,000*l.* per annum, a sum which represents a money capital of at least 2,000,000*l.*

In Upper Canada the Roman Catholic Clergy do not, at present, exceed 70 in number, and the provision for their support is very slender. It depends chiefly on their customary dues, and the contributions of their respective flocks. Unless, indeed, they receive assistance from the French portion of the Province, where the resources of the Romish Church are abundant.

In regard to education, the means at the disposal of the Roman Catholic Church in Lower Canada are not merely ample, but munificent, as appears from the following Table, quoted from Smith's History of Canada, vol. i. Appendix 6:—

	Acres of Land.
Ursulines, Quebec	164,616
Ursulines, Three Rivers	30,909
Recollects	945
Bishop and Seminary at Quebec	693,324
Jesuits	891,845
The Sulpicians, covering the whole island and city of Montreal, considered worth nearly a million .	250,191
General Hospital, Quebec	28,497
Ditto Montreal	404
Hotel Dieu, Quebec	14,112
Sœurs Grises	42,336
	2,117,179

Now, averaging the value of these lands at the very low price of six shillings and eightpence per acre, they represent a capital of more than seven hundred thousand pounds. It is true, all these possessions were at one time at the disposal of the Crown, and the Jesuits' estates are not yet finally appropriated; but who that knows the readiness with which Lord Sydenham gave a title to a few monks of St. Sulpice, covering the whole city and island of Montreal, with the consent of the Imperial Government, received or implied, can expect that these vast possessions will be now kept back?

But, independent of the Jesuit estates, we have the Seminary of Quebec, after deducting a generous allowance, if thought good, for the Archbishop, with a princely endowment of more than half a million of acres of land, to establish colleges and seminaries of a higher order in the districts of Three Rivers and Quebec; and the still richer seminary of St. Sulpice, with more than half a million, and believed by many to be worth double that sum, to do the same for the district of Montreal.

Contrast all this, my Lord, with the United Church of England and Ireland in Canada. We have three Bishops, and about two hundred and forty Clergymen; the latter

having very scanty support, and yet, scanty as it is, they are much more indebted for it to the unwearied benevolence of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the generous protector of the Colonial Church, than to Government. For although it was the intention of the British Parliament, in 1791, to make ample provision for the maintenance of a Protestant Clergy in Canada, and to place the National Church on an equal footing in temporalities with that of Rome, that intention has been frustrated by neglect and mismanagement, and at last by the active interference of the Government.

In 1840, the lands set apart for this purpose, including the one-fourth under sale, may be assumed at three millions of acres. Of this quantity, seven-twelfths were at once swept away (as already mentioned) by the 3 & 4 Victoria, chap. 78, leaving only five-twelfths for the support of a Protestant Clergy. The Church requested that she might have the management of this small remainder of her property, either to lease or endow parishes, and so ensure a permanent provision, at least to a limited extent. This was denied her, and the lands were ordered to be sold without reserve, under the direction of the provincial authorities.

Thus, my Lord, Government refused to confide to the Church of the Sovereign this small portion of her patrimony; but they very readily entrusted ten times as much in value and extent to the Romish Church in the same Colony.

Now, it is believed, that under this unscrupulous management, the share of the Church, or 1,250,000 acres, will not realize one-third of their true value; but, assuming that they may, on the average, realize six shillings and eightpence per acre, or, for the whole, 420,000*l.*, which, at the present rate of interest in the province, may produce 25,200*l.* per annum, what is this for the support of all the Protestant Clergy who will ever be in this vast province?

Nor is this all: a money capital is not like tithes or land, of a steady value, but liable to fluctuation and contingencies, by which the income may be diminished. This same capital, for instance, would afford only half the revenue in the three per cents. in the mother country, which it does at present here, while the incomes of the Romish Clergy arise from land, and are not only permanent, but liable to no such diminution.

My Lord, we have not yet done: this pittance, miserable though it be, is once more in jeopardy, because the constitutional power which Government possesses, of declaring the settlement of 1840 final, has not been exercised.

As respects education in Upper Canada, we have at present no Church institution in which the higher branches of literature and science can be taught.

In 1827, an university, connected with the National Church, was established by royal charter, and liberally endowed with lands, expressly set apart for that purpose, so far back as 1798, by the command of George the Third, of worthy memory, and now yielding a revenue of 11,000*l.* per annum. But because it was so connected, though not excluding the youth of other religious denominations from the educational benefits it afforded, it became an object of attack; and after a long struggle, an Act was passed, which came into operation on the first of January, 1850, not only destroying the royal charter of King's College, but establishing a new university under a different name, from which all religious instruction, according to any form of doctrine, is excluded, all religious observances are virtually abolished, and graduates in Holy Orders declared ineligible as members of the Senate.

The members of the United Church of England and Ireland, thus deprived of an university with which they could in any sense, as religious men, co-operate, felt it their duty to sacrifice endowment rather than principle;

and as it is impossible for them, great as the sacrifice is, to hold connexion with an institution essentially un-Christian, they have taken measures to establish an university in strict connexion with their Church, without asking for any pecuniary aid.

But here, my Lord, again the policy of your Government interposes, by various annoyances, to compel us to send our youth to the anti-church university. Among others, our application for a royal charter to enable us to confer degrees in the arts and faculties, and to manage our own property and affairs, (although such charters have already been conferred on two religious communities in the Colony, far inferior in number,) has been as yet without success. Hence, there is at present no seminary in Upper Canada in which the children of conscientious Churchmen can receive a Christian and liberal education; for the institution at Cobourg is very limited, and confined to theology.

Even in regard to common schools, the prevailing influence of the Roman Catholics effects a distinction, by allowing them separate schools, a privilege denied to the Church of England.

Such, then, my Lord, is the state of the United Church of England and Ireland in this noble province: degraded, crippled, and impoverished by the policy of the home Government, both in England and in Canada, and her complaints treated with indifference and neglect.

And yet of a sudden your Lordship manifests a marvellous indignation against the Pope for doing in England what he has been long doing to a far greater extent in this Colony.

An Archbishop has been created by the Pope, and powers allowed to the Bishops, which are not permitted even in Roman Catholic countries.

Moreover, soon after Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria created the See of Toronto, and appointed its Bishop, a Priest was sent by the Bishop of Rome to assume

the same title, calling himself Bishop of the new See, and establishing himself in the same city.

The rightful Bishop thought first of complaining of so glaring an infringement of primitive and Catholic order; but seeing, from the treatment received by the Right Reverend Dr. Broughton, the first Bishop of Australia, that instead of redress, he would meet with contumely and derision, he thought it wiser to forbear.

The facts thus established, my Lord, present a curious commentary on your Letter. You give more than usual efficiency to the Romish hierarchy in Canada: you confer upon them superabundant means for the higher educational purposes, and you award them a complete and well-endowed ecclesiastical Establishment. In contrast, you permit, without remonstrance or interference, the national Church to be deprived of her solitary endowed College (she had but one), and to be stripped of the greater part of her patrimony, conferred upon her in 1791.

Compare, my Lord, your policy towards the Colonial Church with the generous conduct of the United States. The members of the Church of England inhabiting the State of New York are at this day enabled to erect their Churches and pay their Missionaries, in every section of that extensive country, by the aid of funds provided by the pious care of British monarchs when they were British Colonies; for so scrupulously have all endowments to the Church, or to Colleges, such as Columbia College, formerly King's College, New York, William and Mary's College, in Virginia, &c. &c. been preserved, notwithstanding the revolution, that it was urged lately, as a strong reason why members of the Church should join the annexation party in Canada, which though dormant is not extinct, because the moment Canada becomes a State, all endowments for the Church, educational and charitable purposes, will be guaranteed for ever for the purposes intended, as

such property has been declared sacred by the Supreme Court of the United States, and cannot be confiscated under their general Constitution.

But with us, instead of protection, the Church and her possessions are made the sport of the Home as well as the Colonial authorities.

We do not, my Lord, contrast the two Churches, as respects their wealth or poverty, with the view of seeking to diminish the ample endowments of the Roman Catholic Church by a single shilling or acre,—they have been dedicated to sacred purposes, and should be held sacred;—what we contend for is, that the endowments of the United Church of England and Ireland, appropriated so very solemnly by the 31 George the Third chap. 31, and the endowment of King's College, guaranteed by three of our sovereigns, should be held equally sacred as the grants of Louis the Fourteenth, and that what has been unjustly taken away should be in some way restored.

It may indeed appear strange that the Roman Catholics in Canada should, as a body, have lent themselves on every occasion to the spoliation of the national Church; because, in doing so, they are giving a precedent for confiscating their own far richer endowments, which they hold by a much weaker tenure than we did ours.

But the Romanists do not look forward to such a contingency; and indeed, while the union continues, their power is in no danger. Nay, they sometimes give us credit for that love of justice which they in practice neglect, and believe, and perhaps not without reason, that the members of the National Church would not consent to such robbery.

Such, my Lord, is the state of the National Church in this Colony as compared with that of Rome.

What are the remedies?

First. Since no restoration can be hoped for, at least

give protection to the small remainder of the property left the Church, and take order that the pledge under the 3 & 4 Victoria, chap. 78, be no longer suffered to become a subject of discussion or complaint.

Secondly. Let the Church in Canada be allowed full liberty of action. While there was only one Bishop and a few Missionaries, scattered over the surface of this vast province, and while the Government here and in the mother country were members of the Church, and her natural guardians from position and inclination, we had security and peace. Her ministrations were gradually extended as the country became settled, and she possessed that influence in public affairs to which she was justly entitled; but now that the State at home and abroad professes to have no religion, and seems in practice to prefer all religious communities, but more especially the Roman Catholic, to the United Church of England and Ireland, it is unjust to hold her in chains by antiquated laws which have no force against any of Her Majesty's subjects except those that belong to the National Church, and to which she submitted at a time when there were no other religious bodies, and for the sake of the preference and special protection which are now withdrawn.

To speak of the Church as in unity with the State, in the present state of things is as ridiculous as it is untrue; for since the unequal application of the principle of civil and religious liberty, in 1827 and 1829, she has been left as a target for all sects and denominations to shoot at, and as helpless as such target; because she is not free to exercise in her own defence the rights and inherent powers which, in common justice, ought to be confirmed to her, from that same principle.

All other religious bodies have their legislatures, which are free to meet when and where they please, to deliberate and pass bye-laws, so long as such only affect the spiritual

concerns of those who are willing to accept them, and impose nothing inconsistent with their condition as subjects, to which all denominations must yield obedience.

In this Province the Roman Catholics are under no restraint; the Wesleyans have their Conference; the Kirk of Scotland and the Free Kirk have their Presbyteries and Synods: but should the Church desire to meet in Convocation, for the regulation of her affairs, she is threatened with the Act of Submission, which is said to reach the Colonies, although this country was not known at the time of its enactment.

A special licence from the Queen is said to be absolutely necessary to enable any Bishop to assemble his Clergy in Convocation, for the purpose of passing canons and regulations for the peace and good government of his Diocese.

Now, as such licence has been refused to the mother Church in England for upwards of a century, it would seem to be in vain to apply for one here; nevertheless, the attempt must soon be made; and should it prove unsuccessful, we must then carefully examine the restraining enactment of Henry the Eighth, as doubts have been lately thrown out by high legal authority of its application beyond the seas.

It is, however, our design to proceed with all becoming respect and moderation. We shall therefore petition, in the first place, for licence to meet in a Diocesan Synod, for the regulation of the spiritual affairs of the Church; and should we fail, it will then be our duty to consider what can be done in the premises, for it is quite evident that the Church in Canada is now far too large to proceed with dignity and efficiency under its present imperfect ministrations.

Assuming that the lay members of the Church in Canada approach three hundred thousand, under three Bishops and two hundred and forty Clergymen, it must

needs be that difficulties and offences will arise ; and how are they to be dealt with?

The Bishop is in most cases powerless. Jurisdiction is no doubt granted him by his appointment and commission, but he has no regular courts by which to try causes, and acquit or punish, as the case may be. Hence he is frequently unable to suppress reckless insubordination and sullen opposition, even in things purely spiritual. At one time he is accused of feebleness and irresolution, and at another, when he acts with firmness and vigour, he is called a despot.

It may, indeed, be true that the Church has increased so rapidly that no great inconvenience has yet been felt. The Clergy, as a body, have acted beyond all praise in the faithful discharge of their important and onerous duties. But this state of things cannot be expected to continue. The Bishop frequently feels himself weak, and requires at such times the refreshing counsel of his brethren, and their constitutional cooperation in maturing the measures which he may feel it proper to adopt. Their presence therefore appears indispensable, if the Church in this extreme portion of the Lord's vineyard is to carry out successfully her divine mission.

Were the Clergy of the province to meet under their three Bishops, or even were they to meet under one Bishop in their respective Dioceses, with such representatives of the laity, being Communicants, as might be thought right, they would accomplish all that might be required.

Never, perhaps, did the Church proceed in any Colony with the like rapidity ; and this not merely in Upper Canada, which happens to possess peculiar advantages, but equally so in Lower Canada, notwithstanding the overwhelming number of Romanists.

Hence, we fear not Rome, her Jesuits or her schemes. Our holy Church, resting on the faith once delivered to

the saints, has successfully opposed them for three centuries, on the principles of primitive truth and order, and is still equally able to do so, leaning on Divine help, in every part of the world.

I. The Clergy and Lay Delegates might meet, with their Bishops, and make rules and regulations for the better conduct of their ecclesiastical affairs, and for holding such meetings from time to time as might be deemed necessary and convenient.

II. Such rules and regulations not to impose or inflict any corporal or pecuniary penalty or disability, other than such as may attach to the avoidance of any office or benefice held in the said Church.

III. That no such rule or regulation shall be binding on any person or persons, other than the said Bishop or Bishops, and the Clergy and Lay persons within the Colony or Diocese, declared members of the Church of England.

IV. That it shall not be competent to the said Bishops, Clergy, and Lay persons, or any of them, to pass any regulation affecting the rights of the Crown, without the consent of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

V. That no such rule or regulation shall authorize the Bishop of any Diocese to confirm or consecrate, or to ordain, license, or institute any person to any See, or to any Pastoral Charge or other Episcopal or Clerical office, unless such person shall have previously taken the Oath of Allegiance to Her Majesty, and shall have also subscribed the Articles of the United Church of England and Ireland, and declared his unfeigned assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer.*

Were the Bishops and Clergy to meet, with such powers

* These suggestions are founded upon certain clauses proposed by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to be inserted in the Australia Bill, during the last Session of Parliament.

as these, slender though they be, the moral influence of such meetings and proceedings would be immediately felt and acknowledged.

We may indeed be told, that we have already as much power here as the Church has in England, and that all things required for Church government have been long since determined and settled by the highest authority. To this we reply, that in the Colonies cases are constantly arising for which no provision has been made, and it is necessary for the Church of God to adapt herself to the circumstances with which she is surrounded, so far as it can be done consistently with her religious principles.

But this and much more is required in the present crisis, when the Church is attacked by a host of enemies from every quarter; some openly avowing their infidelity, others adding to or subtracting from the faith, and agreeing in no one thing, but their wish to destroy the only true branch of the Catholic Church which is able to stem the torrent of irreligion, fanaticism, and presumption, which is threatening to overwhelm the civilization of the world.

We seek not for the defence of our holy Church in penal enactments, or in depriving other denominations of equal rights and privileges; such a defence we refuse and disavow. Her defence, under God, is to be found in the purity of her teaching, speaking the truth in Jesus Christ boldly as she ought to speak, and in exercising freedom of synodical action, from which all she requires will naturally flow, such as the rapid spread of her catholic doctrine, the restoration of a healthy discipline, the establishment of proper tribunals for the correction of offences, the control of the education of her children, &c. &c.

Remember, my Lord, that the principles of entire toleration are too well understood and established in the present age to admit of their infringement, and that the

only way left of successfully combating the Papal or any other aggression, is to emancipate the Church from her present thralldom, in some such manner as has been indicated in this letter.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN TORONTO.

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